

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 026058

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR IS

SUBJECT:PERES ON GENEVA CONFERENCE

REF: TEL AVIV 665

1. WE WOULD LIKE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF PRIMARY REASON BEHIND FAVORABLE ATTITUDE THAT DEFENSE MINISTER PERES HAS TAKEN TOWARD POSSIBLE RECONVENING OF GENEVA MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE. THIS SHOULD BE STRICTLY IN-HOUSE EXERCISE.

2. WE DETECT FIVE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN ISRAEL, WHICH ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, AMONG ADVOCATES OF RECONVENING GENEVA. (A) TO GAIN TIME FOR ISRAEL, ON HYPOTHESIS THAT GENEVA TALKS COULD BE PROTRACTED AS VIETNAM TALKS WERE (VIZ PERES COMMENT TO THIS EFFECT NOTED IN REFTTEL) AND NEED NOT QUICKLY MOVE TO SUCCESS OR FAILURE. THIS SCHOOL WOULD INCLUDE THOSE WHO FEEL ISRAEL'S PRESENT GOAL MUST BE TO KEEP LID ON SITUATION UNTIL 1976, BY WHICH TIME US WILL MOVE INTO ELECTION YEAR AND ALSO IDF WILL BE IN EXCELLENT SHAPE. (B) TO PUT PRESSURE ON USG TO TAKE SERIOUSLY ISRAEL'S WANTS AND DESIRES IN STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATING CONTEXT BY SHOWING THAT ISRAEL IS NOT NECESSARILY WEDDED TO STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH AS ONLY METHOD. (C) TO EXPOSE TRUE ARAB ATTITUDE
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TOWARD ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND THUS SWITCH ONUS TO ARABS

FOR ABSENCE OF PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST, BY GOING TO CORE
MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AT GENEVA AND UNDOING RATHER SUCCESSFUL

ARAB CAMPAIGN SINCE OCTOBER WAR TO CONVINCE WORLD ARABS
ARE READY FOR PEACE BUT ISRAEL'S UNWILLINGNESS TO
SURRENDER OCCUPIED TERRITORY IS PREVENTING PROGRESS.
THIS SCHOOL WOULD INCLUDE THOSE OPEN AND COVERT ISRAELI
DOVES WHO WONDER IF PERHAPS ARABS HAVE INDEED CHANGED
THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE IN WAKE OF
OCTOBER WAR AND WHO WANT TO LEARN ANSWER THROUGH GENEVA.
(D) TO BRING USSR FACTOR INTO PLAY, SO THAT MOSCOW IS
FORCED EITHER TO TAKE NEUTRAL STAND ON ME ISSUES, THERE-
BY FACILITATING PROGRESS, OR TO ASSUME HARDLINING EX-
TREME PRO-ARAB POSTURE, THUS HELPING ISRAEL GAIN MORE
SUPPORT WITH AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESS. (E) TO SAVE
ISRAEL'S ONLY AVAILABLE MEATY CONCESSION--SURRENDER OF
SINAI PASSES AND ABU RODEIS--FOR WHERE IT WILL BE MOST
NEEDED: AT INEVITABLE RECONVENING OF GENEVA. THIS
SCHOOL WOULD INCLUDE THOSE WHO CANNOT CONCEIVE OF FURTHER
ISRAELI CONCESSION ON GOLAN AND WHO ARE CONVINCED US WILL
IN ANY CASE COMPEL ISRAEL TO GO TO GENEVA RIGHT AFTER ANY
SECOND STAGE SINAI AGREEMENT, PRESUMABLY TO DISCUSS
SECOND STAGE GOLAN ARRANGEMENT, AND WHO WOULD THEREFORE
PREFER TO MAKE NEW SINAI AGREEMENT THE ACCOMPLISHMENT
TO BE ACHIEVED AT GENEVA.

3. SINCE EBAN HAS NOW COME OUT IN FAVOR OF EARLY RECON-
VENING OF GENEVA, AND IN LIGHT OF HIS CAST OF MIND IN THE
PAST, WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO PLACE HIM IN SCHOOL (C).
BUT SCHOOL (C) SEEMS LEAST LIKELY PLACE FOR PERES.
ALTHOUGH THERE APPEAR TO BE FACTORS OF SEVERAL OTHER
SCHOOLS IN PERES' THINKING, WE WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING
WHICH ONE YOU BELIEVE IS THE PRINCIPAL ONE FOR PERES. KISSINGER

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